

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

DODE-00 SS-15 NSC-05 /062 W
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R 041806Z JUNE 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2159

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PARGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3101

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE

REF: A. STATE 126888 (NOTAL)

B. ROME 7431

C. WARSAW 3437

1. ON JUNE 3, POLADS HAD BRIEF EXCHANGE ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE (ECPC), DURING WHICH ITALIAN REP, CITING AN ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY SOURCE, SAID THAT THE EUROPEAN CP'S STILL HOPE TO REACH A COMPROMISE IN THE DISPUTE OVER THE DRAFT DOCUMENT FOR THE ECPC (THIS MAY BE SAME REPORT AS THAT IN REF B).

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2. MISSION RECEIVED IN 98 AFTER JUNE 3 POLADS MEETING AND PLANS TO CONVEY SOME OF ITS HIGHLIGHTS (SUPPLEMENTED BY INFORMATION DRAWN FROM REF C) TO ALLIES PRIOR TO JUNE 10 POLADS MEEETING.

3. CANADIAN REP CIRCULATED FOLLOWING PAPER, BASED ON REPORTS BY CANADIAN EMBASSIES IN MOSCOW AND BELGRADE, ON PREPARATIONS FOR ECPC.

BEGIN TEXT:

ACCORDING TO INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE CANADIAN EMBASSIES IN MOSCOW AND BELGRADE A FURTHER MEETING OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE IN PREPARATION FOR AN ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES WAS HELD IN EAST BERLIN IN THE MIDDLE OF MAY. SIGNIFICANTLY THE YUGOSLAVS WERE ABSENT FROM THIS MEETING, DESPITE PRIOR EFFORTS BY THE ITALIAN PARTY, ALONG WITH THE EAST GERMANS, TO WORK OUT A COMPROMISE DOCUMENT IN ADVANCE OF THIS MEETING. THIS COMPROMISE WAS DEEMED UNSATISFACTORY BY THE YUGOSLAVS WHO, REFUSING TO DISCUSS FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF INTERPARTY RELATIONS AT SUCH A MEETING, DESPATCHED ALEXANDER GRILICHKOV, THE SENIOR LCY OFFICIAL REPRESENTING THEM ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONFERENCE, TO MOSCOW TO EXPLAIN CAREFULLY ONCE AGAIN THE YUGOSLAV POSITION. WHILE HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH HIS SOVIET HOSTS (APPARENTLY PONOMAREV AND KATUSCHEV) APPEARED TO BE AMICABLE ENOUGH, IT IS STILL NOT CLEAR WHEN THE CONFERENCE PREPARATIONS ARE TO GO FROM HERE SINCE THERE ARE NO INDICATIONS OF CHANGES IN THE BASIC POSITIONS OF EITHER SIDE.

ACCORDING TO THE YUGOSLAV EMBASSY IN MOSCOW, IT SEEMS THAT THE FAIRLY LONG DISCUSSIONS GRILCHKOV HAD WITH PONOMAREV AND KATUSHEV WERE FRANK AND CORDIAL, BUT DID NOT LEAD TO ANY CHANGES IN RESPECTIVE POSITIONS. GRILICHKOV SET OUT YUGOSLAV VIEWS AND MADE CLEAR THAT, GIVEN THE YUGOSLAV SITUATION, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO GO ALONG WITH A CONFERENCE DOCUMENT PURPORTING TO CONFIDENTIAL

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EXPRESS COMMON PURPOSES AND ACTION GUIDELINES FOR EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES. THE MOST THAT THEY COULD ACCEPT WAS A COMMUNIQUE LISTING THE POINTS DISCUSSED WITH A BRIEF COMMENTARY RECORDING THE POINTS ON WHICH THERE WAS BROAD CONCENSUS, BUT WHERE DIFFERENCES EXISTED SETTING OUT THE DISSENTING VIEWS AND IDENTIFYING THE PARTIES SUBSCRIBING TO THOSE VIEWS.

THE YUGOSLAV APPARENTLY ALSO SUGGESTED THAT A FRESH START SHOULD BE MADE IN PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONFERENCE THROUGH BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS, SUSPENDING FOR SOME TIME AT LEAST THE MEETINGS OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE. FINALLY, GRILICHKOV HAD TOLD PONOMAREV THAT HE QUITE

APPRECIATED THAT THE YUGOSLAV POSITION MIGHT CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR MANY OTHER PARTIES. RECOGNIZING THAT YUGOSLAVIA WAS IN MANY WAYS IN A SPECIAL SITUATION, THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP COULD UNDERSTAND IF IT SHOULD BE THE GENERAL WISH TO REJECT YUGOSLAV SUGGESTIONS AND PROCEED WITH THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONFERENCE ON THE PRESENT BASIS. IN THAT EVENT, HOWEVER, THE OTHER PARTIES WOULD NO DOUBT UNDERSTAND IF THE YUGOSLAVS DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE.

IN EXPLAINING THEIR POSITION THE SOVIET SIDE STRESSED THE NEED IN THEIR VIEW TO PRESENT A MORE UNITED FRONT AND TO WORK OUT GUIDELINES FOR THE FUTURE, WHICH INDIVIDUAL PARTIES COULD OF COURSE ADAPT TO THEIR NATIONAL SITUATIONS.

FURTHER, WHATEVER MIGHT NOW HAPPEN, THE YUGOSLAVS NOW FEEL THAT THEY HAD BEEN RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE EARLIER PREPARATORY MEETINGS. THEIR PRESENCE HAD CERTAINLY BEEN A FACTOR CONTRIBUTING TO A GOOD AND THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AMONG EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES ON VERY IMPORTANT ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE OR RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTIES. MOREOVER, THESE EXCHANGES HAD REVEALED A GOOD DEAL OF SUPPORT FOR THE YUGOSLAV POSITION. MANY NEW IDEAS HAD THUS BEEN "STIRRED UP" AND WOULD NOT EASILY BE FORGOTTEN.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 3101

A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE COURSE CURRENTLY BEING DISCUSSED IN BELGRADE IS THAT THE FINAL DOCUMENTS OF AN ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE COULD EMBODY BOTH THE YUGOSLAV AND SOVIET POINTS OF VIEW AND PRESENT A VERY GENERAL ANALYSIS OF THE EUROPEAN SITUATION AND A VERY GENERAL "TASKS OF EUROPEAN PARTIES" SECTION. THE YUGOSLAVS MIGHT ALSO AGREE TO A VAGUELY-WORDED CALL FOR A WORLD MEETING IF IT IS BALANCED WITH A HIGHLY RESTRICTIVE PHRASE ALONG THE LINES OF "WHEN THE TIME IS RIPE".

SUCH A COMPROMISE COURSE APPEARS TO BE THE ONLY ONE CONCEIVABLE BUT IN TURN WOULD REPRESENT ONLY A LIMITED VICTORY FOR THE YUGOSLAVS, E.G. THE CPSU'S DESIRE TO REASSERT ITS CONTROL AND TO PREPARE FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ousting of the Chinese from the World Movement would have been unable once again to obtain a clearly unequivocal affirmation of their right to participate fully in the international movement while following an independent course based on a non-aligned foreign policy and self-management at home.

SUCH A ONE-SIDED COMPROMISE MAY NOT BE VERY ACCEPTABLE TO THE USSR BUT THE UNPALATABLE ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE TO PROCEED WITH THE EUROPEAN MEETING WITHOUT THE YUGOSLAVS AND POSSIBLY WITH OTHERS EITHER BOYCOTTING OR, MORE LIKELY, MAKING THEIR DISSENTING VOICES HEARD IN OTHER WAYS. GIVEN THE PUBLIC AWARENESS OF THE ELEMENTS OF THE DISPUTE AND THE FACT THAT THE YUGOSLAVS APPARENTLY BELIEVE THAT THEIR RIGHT TO AN INDEPENDENT COURSE IS AT STAKE, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP COULD AGREE TO ANYTHING THAT AMOUNTED TO A RETREAT FROM THEIR CLEARLY ENUNCIATED POSITION.

A FURTHER INTERESTING ASPECT OF THE DISPUTE IS THE LINK WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS (AND ROMANIANS) APPARENTLY SEE BETWEEN THE CSCE AND COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE. IN THEIR VIEW, ONE EFFECT OF THE CSCE, UNLESS QUALIFIED ADEQUATELY BY THE RESULTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE, WOULD BE TO BOLSTER DANGEROUSLY THE USSR POSITION OF LEADERSHIP-OR HEGEMONY-OVER THE EASTERN EUROPEAN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND COMMUNIST PARTIES. SINCE THEY TOOK TO THE PARTY CONFERENCE TO CONSECRATE TO AT LEAST TO REAFFIRM THE RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL PARTIES TO PURSUE AN INDEPENDENT COURSE ADAPTED TO NATIONAL CONDITIONS. IT WAS FOR THAT

REASON THAT THEY OPPOSED THE HOLDING OF THE PARTY
CONFERENCE BEFORE THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE, AS THE
LATTER WAS ALSO FOR THEM A BARGAINING COUNTER IN
SEEKING TO ACHIEVE A SATISFACTORY OUTCOME TO THE
FORMER. THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE ROMANIANS AND THE YUGOSLAVS
IN GENEVA IN THE FINAL STAGES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT
THUS BE HEAVILY INFLUENCED BY THE CURRENT DEBATE ON
THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE AND BECOME MORE
OBSTRUCTIONIST, IF A SOLUTION WERE NOT FOUND ON A
FORMULA FOR THE OUTCOME OF THE PARTY CONFERENCE.
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IT IS NOT CLEAR WHERE THE CONFERENCE
PREPARATIONS ARE TO GO FROM HERE. SOME BASIC JUDGEMENTS
MUST PRESUMABLY BE MADE BY THE RUSSIANS FAIRLY SOON
ON WHETHER TO ALLOW SOME SLIPPAGE OF TIME (AND RISK THAT
THE CONFERENCE MAY HAVE TO BE POSTPONED TO AFTER THE
25TH CPSU CONGRESS) TO TRY TO OVERCOME THE PRESENT
DEADLOCK WITH THE YUGOSLAVS (SUPPORTED BY THE ROMANIANS
AND TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT BY THE ITALIANS AND
SPANIARDS); OR TO FORCE THE ISSUE ACCEPTING THE
POSSIBILITY THE YUGOSLAVS WILL BOYCOTT THE CONFERENCE,
ALONG WITH THE RESULTING STRAINS WITHIN THE COMMUNIST
PARTY COMMUNITY.
END TEXT.
BRUCE.

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